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HIS MAIESTIES DECLARATION TO ALL HIS louing Subiects.

Of the causes which moued him to dissolue the last Parliament.

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By the King.

A Proclamation about the dissoluing of the *Parliament*.

WHereas Wee, for the generall good of Our Kingdome, caused Our high Court of Parliament to assemble and meete, by Prorogation the twentieth day of *Ianuary* last past, sithence which time the same hath beene continued: And although in this time, by the maleuolent dispositions of some ill affected persons of the House of Commons, Wee haue had sundry iust causes of offence and dislike of their proceedings; yet Wee resolued with patience to trie the vttermost, which Wee the rather did, for that Wee found in that House a great number of sober and graue persons, well affected to Religion and gouernment, and desirous to preserue Vnitie and Peace in all partes of Our Kingdome. And therefore, hauing on the fiue and twentieth day of *Februarie* last, by the vniforme Aduice of Our Priuie Counsell, caused both Houses to be adiourned vntill this present day, hoping in the meane time, that a better and more right vnderstanding might be begotten betweene Vs and the members of that House, whereby this Parliament might haue a happy end and issue.

And for the same intent, Wee did againe this day commaund the like Adiurnement to be made, vntill the tenth day of this Moneth: It hath so happened by the disobedient and seditious carriage of those said ill affected persons of the House of Commons, That We and Our Regall authoritie and commandement, haue beene so highly contemned, as Our Kingly Office cannot beare, nor any former age

can parallel. And therefore it is Our full and absolute resolution to dissolue the same Parliament; whereof Wee thought good, to giue notice vnto all the Lords Spirituall & Temporall, & to the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of this present Parliament, and to all others whom it may concerne, that they may depart about their needefull affaires, without attending any longer here. Neuertheleſſe, We will that they, and all others should take notice, that Wee doe, and euer will distinguish betweene those, who haue shewed good affection to Religion and Gouernement, and those that haue giuen themselues ouer to Faction, and to worke disturbance to the Peace, and good order of Our Kingdome.

Giuen at Our Court at Whit-hall, *this second day of* March, *in the fourth yeare of Our Reigne of Great* Britaine France, *and* Ireland.

God saue the King.

HIS MAIESTIES SPEACH AT THE DISSOLVING OF THE PARLIAMENT.

My Lords,

I Neuer came here vpon so vnpleasant an occasion; it being the dissolution of a Parliament. Therefore men may haue some cause to wonder, why I should not rather chuse to doe this by Commission, it being a generall Maxime of Kings, to leaue harsh commands to their Ministers, themselues onely executing pleasant things. Yet considering that Iustice, aswell consists in reward and prayse of vertue, as punishing of vice; I thought it necessary to come here to day; to declare to you, and all the world, that it was meerely the vndutifull and seditious carriage in the lower House, that hath made the dissolution of this Parliament. And you my Lords are so farre from being causes of it, that I take as much comfort in your dutifull demeanours, as I am iustly distasted with their proceedings; Yet to auoyd mistakings, let Me tell you, that it is so farre from Me to adiudge all the House alike guilty, that I know there are many there, as dutifull Subiects, as any in the world; it being but some few Vipers amongst them, that did cast this mist of vndutifulnesse ouer most of their eyes; yet to say truth, there was a good number there, that could not be infected with this contagion; in so much that some did expresse their duties in speaking, which was the generall fault of the House the last day. To conclude, as these Vipers must looke for their reward of punishment, so you, my Lords, must iustly expect from Me that fauour and protection, that a good King oweth to his louing and dutifull Nobilitie.

And now, my Lord Keeper, doe what I haue commaunded you.

HIS MAIESTIES DECLARATION TO ALL HIS LOVING SVBIECTS,

of the cauſes which moued him to *diſſolue the laſt Parliament.*

HOwſoeuer Princes are not bound to giue accompt of their actions but to God alone yet for the ſatisfaction of the mindes and affections of our louing Subiects, Wee haue thought good to ſet downe thus much by way of Declaration, that we may appeare to the world, in the truth and ſincerities of our owne Actions, and not in thoſe colours, in which, VVee know ſome turbulent and ill affected Spirits (to maske and diſguiſe their owne wicked intentions, dangerous to the State) would repreſent Vs to the publike view.

VVee aſſembled our Parliament the ſeuenteenth day of *March*, in third yeare of Our Raigne, for the ſafety of Religion, for ſecuring Our Kingdomes and Subiects at home, and Our Friends and Allies abroad: And therefore, at the firſt ſitting downe of it, VVee declared the miſerable afflicted eſtate of thoſe of the reformed Religion, in *Germany*, *France*, and other parts of Chriſtendome; the diſtreſſed extremities of our deareſt Vncle the King of *Denmarke*, chaſed out of a great part of his Dominions: The ſtrength of that party, which was vnited againſt Vs; That (beſides the *Pope* and houſe of *Auſtria* and their ancient Confederates) the *French* King profeſſed the rooting out of the *Proteſtant* Religion; That of the Princes and States on our party, ſome were ouer-runne, others diuerted, and ſome diſabled to giue aſsiſtance: For which and other important motiues VVee propounded a ſpeedy ſupply of Treaſure, anſwerable to the neceſsities of the cauſe.

Theſe things in the beginning were well reſented by the houſe of Commons, and with much alacrity and readineſſe, they agreed to grant a liberall ayde: But before it was brought to any perfection, they were diuerted by a multitude of queſtions, raiſed amongſt them, concerning their Liberties and Priuiledges and by other long diſputes, that the Bill did not paſſe in a long time and by that delay our affaires were put into farre worſe caſe then at the firſt; our forraigne actions, then in hand, being thereby diſgraced and ruined for want of timely helpe.

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In this, as VVe are not willing to derogate from the merit, & good intentions of thoſe wiſe & moderate men of that houſe (to whoſe forwardneſſe VVee attribute it, that it was propounded and reſolued ſo ſoone) ſo Wee muſt needes ſay, that the delay of paſsing it when it was reſolued, occaſioned by cauſeleſſe iealouſies ſtirred vp by men of another temper, did much leſſen both the reputation and reality of that ſupply: And their ſpirit infuſed into many of the Commiſsioners and Aſſeſſors in the Countrey, hath returned vp the Subſidies in ſuch a ſcantie proportion, as is infinitely ſhort, not onely of our great occaſions, but of the precedents of former Subſidies, and of the intentions of all well affected men in that Houſe.

In thoſe large diſputes, as Wee permitted many of our high Prerogatiues to be debated, which in the beſt times of our Predeceſſors had neuer beene queſtioned without puniſhment, or ſharpe reproofe; ſo VVe did endeauour to haue ſhortned thoſe debates, for winning of time, which would haue much aduantaged Our great affaires, both at home and abroad. And therefore, both by Speeches and Meſſages, VVee did often declare Our Gracious and cleere reſolution, to maintaine, not onely the Parliament, but all Our people, in their ancient and iuſt liberties, without eyther violation or diminution, and in the end, for their full ſatisfaction and ſecuritie, did by an anſwere, framed in the forme by themſelues deſired, to their Parliamentary Petition, confirme their ancient and iuſt Liberties and Rights; which VVe reſolue with all Conſtancie and Iuſtice to maintaine.

This Parliament, howſoeuer, beſides the ſetling Our neceſſary Supply, and their owne Liberties, they waſted much time in ſuch proceedings (blaſting Our gouernement, as VVee are vnwilling to remember,) yet VVee ſuffered to ſit, vntill themſelues deſired Vs to appoint a time for their receſſe, not naming eyther Adiournement or Prorogation. VVhereupon, by aduice of Our Counſell, VVee reſolued to Prorogue, and make a Seſsion: and to that end preſixed a day, by which they might (as was meete in ſo long a ſitting) finiſh ſome profitable and good Lawes; and withall gaue order for a gracious pardon to all our Subiects: which, according to the vſe of former Parliaments, paſſed the higher Houſe, and was ſent downe to the Commons. All which being graciouſly intended by Vs, was ill entertayned by ſome diſaffected perſons of that Houſe; who, by their artifices, in a ſhort time rayſed ſo much heate and diſtemper in the Houſe, for no other viſible cauſe, but becauſe VVee had declared Our reſolution to prorogue, as Our Counſell aduiſed, and not to adiourne, as ſome of that Houſe (after Our reſolution declared, and not before) did manifeſt themſelues to affect; that ſeldome hath greater paſsion beene ſeene in that Houſe vpon greateſt

occaſions.

occaſions. And then ſome glaunces in the Houſe, but open rumors abroad, were ſpread, that by the Anſwere to the Petition VVee had giuen away, not onely Our Impoſitions vpon goods exported and imported, but the Tonnage and Poundage, whereas, in the debate and hammering of that Petition, there was no ſpeech or mention, in eyther Houſe, concerning thoſe Impoſitions; but concerning Taxes and other charges within the Land: much leſſe was there any thought thereby to debarre Vs of Tonnage and Poundage; which, both before and after the Anſwere to that Petition, the Houſe of Commons, in all their ſpeeches and treaties, did profeſſe they were willing to graunt. And, at the ſame time, many other miſinterpretations were rayſed of that Petition and Anſwere, by men not well diſtinguiſhing betweene well ordered libertie, & licentiouſneſſe, as if, by Our Anſwere to that Petition, VVee had let looſe the Raynes of Our gouernement. And, in this diſtemper, the Houſe of Commons laying aſide the pardon (a thing neuer done in any former Parliament) and other buſineſſes fit to haue beene concluded that Seſsion, ſome of them went about to frame and contriue a Remonſtrance againſt Our receiuing of Tonnage and Poundage; which was ſo farre proceeded in, the night before the prefixed time for concluding the Seſsion, and ſo haſtened by the contriuers thereof, that they meant to haue put it to the vote of the Houſe the next morning, before VVee ſhould prorogue the Seſsion. And therefore, finding Our gracious fauours in that Seſsion, afforded to Our people, ſo ill requited, and ſuch ſiniſter ſtraines made vpon Our Anſwere to that Petition, to the diminution of our profit, and (which was more) to the danger of our Gouernment; VVee reſolued to preuent the finiſhing of that Remonſtrance, and other dangerous intentions of ſome ill affected perſons, by ending the Seſsion the next morning, ſome few houres ſooner then was expected, and, by Our owne mouth, to declare to both Houſes the cauſes thereof; and, for hindring the ſpreading of thoſe ſiniſter interpretations of that Petition and Anſwere, to giue ſome neceſſary directions for ſetling and quieting our Gouernement, vntill another meeting, which wee performed accordingly, the ſixe and twentieth of *Iune* laſt.

The Seſsion thus ended, and the Parliament riſen; that intended Remonſtrance gaue vs occaſion to looke into that buſineſſe of Tonnage and Poundage. And therefore, though our neceſsities pleaded ſtrongly for Vs, yet we were not apt to ſtraine that point too farre, but reſolued to guide Our ſelfe by the practiſe of former ages, and examples of Our moſt Noble Predeceſſours; Thinking thoſe counſels beſt warranted, which the wiſedome of former ages, concurring with the preſent occaſions, did approue: And therefore

fore gaue order for a diligent ſearch of Records; vpon which it was found, that although, in the Parliament holden in the firſt yeare of the Reigne of King *Edward* the Fourth, the Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage was not graunted vnto that King, but was firſt graunted vnto him by Parliament in the third yeare of his Reigne; yet the ſame was accounted and anſwered to that King, from the firſt day of his Reigne, all the firſt and ſecond yeares of his Reigne, and vntill it was granted by Parliament: And that in the ſucceeding times of King *Richard* the Third, King *Henry* the Seuenth, King *Henry* the Eight, King *Edward* the Sixth, Queene *Mary*, and Queene *Elizabeth*, the Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage was not only enioyed by euery of thoſe Kings and Queenes, from the death of each of them deceaſing, vntill it was granted by Parliament vnto the Succeſſor; But in all thoſe times, (being for the moſt part peaceable, and not burthened with like charges and neceſsities as theſe moderne times) the Parliament did, moſt readily and cheerefully, in the beginning of euery of thoſe Reignes, grant the ſame, as a thing moſt neceſſary for the guarding of the Seas, ſafetie and defence of the Realme, and ſupportation of the Royall Dignitie. And in the time of Our Royall Father, of bleſſed memory, he enioyed the ſame a full yeare, wanting very few dayes, before his Parliament began: and about a yeare before the Act of Parliament for the grant of it was paſſed: And yet, when the Parliament was aſſembled, it was granted without difficultie. And, in Our owne time, Wee quietly receiued the ſame three yeares and more, expecting with patience, in ſeuerall Parliaments, the like grant thereof, as had beene made to ſo many of Our Predeceſſours; the Houſe of Commons ſtill profeſsing, that multitude of other buſineſſe, and not want of willingneſſe on their part, had cauſed the ſetling thereof to be ſo long deferred. And therefore, finding ſo much reaſon and neceſsitie for the receiuing of the ordinarie duties in the Cuſtome-houſe, to concurre with the practiſe of ſuch a Succeſsion of Kings and Queenes, famous for Wiſedome, Iuſtice, and Gouernement, and nothing to the contrary, but that intended Remonſtrance, hatched out of the paſsionate braines of a few particular perſons; We thought it ſo farre from the wiſedome and duty of a Houſe of Parliament, as Wee could not thinke, that any moderate and diſcreete man (vpon compoſed thoughts, ſetting aſide paſsion and diſtemper) could be againſt receiuing of Tonnage and Poundage; eſpecially ſince Wee doe, and ſtill muſt purſue thoſe ends, and vndergoe that Charge, for which it was firſt granted to the Crowne it hauing beene ſo long and conſtantly continued to Our Predeceſſours, as that in foure ſeuerall Acts of Parliament, for the granting thereof, to King *Edward* the Sixth, Queene *Mary*, Queene *Elizabeth*, and Our bleſſed Father,

it is in expreſſe termes mentioned, to haue beene had and enioyed by the ſeuerall Kings named in thoſe Actes, time out of minde, by authority of Parliament. And therefore, vpon theſe reaſons, Wee held it agreeable to Our Kingly Honour, and neceſſary for the ſafetie and good of Our Kingdome, to continue the receipt thereof, as ſo many of Our Predeceſſours had done. Wherefore, when a few Marchants (being at firſt but one or two) fomented, as it is well knowne, by thoſe euill Spirits that would haue hatched that vndutifull Remonſtrance, began to oppoſe the payment of Our accuſtomed duties in the Cuſtome-houſe, Wee gaue order to the Officers of Our Cuſtomes to goe on, notwithſtanding that oppoſition, in the receiuing of that vſuall duties; and cauſed thoſe that refuſed, to be warned to attend at the Counſell-board; that, by the wiſedome and authority of Our Counſell, they might be reduced to obedience and duty; where ſome of them, without reuerence or reſpect to the honour and dignitie of that preſence, behaued themſelues with ſuch boldneſſe and inſolency of ſpeech, as was not to be endured by a farre meaner Aſſembly; much leſſe to be countenanced by a Houſe of Parliament, againſt the body of Our Priuie Counſell.

And as in this Wee did what in honour and reaſon was fit for the preſent; ſo Our thoughts were dayly intentiue vpon the reaſſembling of Our Parliament, with full intention on Our part, to take away all ill vnderſtanding betweene Vs and our people; whoſe loues, as Wee deſired, to continue and preſerue, ſo Wee vſed Our beſt endeauours, to prepare and facilitate the way to it. And to this end, hauing taken a ſtrict, and exact ſuruey of Our gouernement, both in the Church and Common-wealth, and what things were moſt fit and neceſſary to be reformed, Wee found in the firſt place, that much exception had beene taken at a Booke, intituled, *Appello Cæſarem*, or An Appeale to *Cæſar*, and publiſhed in the yeare 1625. by *Richard Mountague*, then Batchelor of Diuinitie, and now Biſhop of *Chicheſter* and becauſe it did open the way to thoſe ſchiſmes & diuiſions, which haue ſince enſued in the Church, Wee did, for remedy and redreſſe thereof, & for ſatisfaction of the conſciences of our good people, not onely, by our publike Proclamation, call in that Booke, which miniſtred matter of offence, but, to preuent the like danger for hereafter, reprinted the Articles of Religion, eſtabliſhed in the time of Queene *Elizabeth* of famous memory; and, by a Declaration before thoſe Articles, Wee did tye and reſtraine all opinions to the ſenſe of thoſe Articles, that nothing might be left for priuate fancies and innouation. For VVee call God to record, before whom VVee ſtand, that it is, and alwayes hath beene, our hearts deſire, to be found worthy of that Title, which VVe account the moſt glorious in all Our Crowne, *Defender of the Faith*: neyther

ther ſhall VVee euer giue way to the authorizing of any thing, whereby any innouation may ſteale, or creepe into the Church; but preſerue that vnitie of Doctrine and diſcipline, eſtabliſhed in the time of Queene *Elizabeth*, whereby the Church of *England* hath ſtood and flouriſhed euer ſince.

And, as VVee were carefull to make vp all breaches and rents in Religion at home, ſo did VVee, by Our Proclamation and Commandement for the execution of Lawes againſt Prieſts and Popiſh Recuſants, fortifie all wayes and approches againſt that forraigne Enemie: which if it haue not ſucceeded according to Our intention, VVee muſt lay the fault where it is, in the ſubordinate Officers and Miniſters in the Countrey, by whoſe remiſſe neſſe Ieſuites and Prieſts eſcape without apprehenſion; and Recuſants, from thoſe conuictions and penalties, which the Lawes & Our Commandement would haue inflicted on them. For VVee doe profeſſe, that, as it is Our durie, ſo it ſhall be our care, to Command and direct well; but it is the part of others, to performe the Miniſteriall Office: And when VVe haue done Our Office, VVee ſhall account Our Selfe, and all charitable men will account Vs, innocent both to God and Men: And thoſe that are negligent, VVee will eſteeme as culpable both to God and Vs; and therefore will expect that hereafter they giue Vs a better account. And as VVee haue beene carefull for the ſetling of Religion and quieting the Church, ſo were VVee not vnmindfull of the preſeruation of the iuſt and ancient Liberties of Our Subiects, which VVee ſecured to them, by Our gracious Anſwere to the Petition in Parliament, hauing not ſince that time done any Act whereby to infringe them; but Our care is, and hereafter ſhall be, to keepe them entire and inuiolable, as VVee would doe Our owne Right and Soueraignetie hauing for that purpoſe enrolled the Petition & Anſwer, in Our Courts of Iuſtice.

Next to the care of Religion, and of Our Subiects rights, VVee did Our beſt for the prouident and well ordering of that ayde and ſupply, which was granted Vs the laſt Seſsion; whereof no part hath been wastfully ſpent, nor put to any other vſe, then thoſe for which it was deſired & granted; as vpon payment of Our Fleete & Armie; wherein Our care hath been ſuch as VVe choſe rather to diſcontent Our deareſt Friends & Allies, & Our neereſt Seruants, then to leaue Our Souldiers and Marriners vnſatisfied, whereby any vexation or diſquiet might ariſe to Our people. VVe haue alſo, with part of thoſe Moneyes, begun to ſupply Our Magazines & ſtores of Munition, & to put Our Nauie into a conſtant forme & order. Our Fleete likewiſe is fitting, & almoſt in a readineſſe, whereby the Narrowe Seas may be guarded, commerce maintayned, & Our Kingdome ſecured from all forraigne attempts. Theſe Actes of Ours might haue made this impreſsion

in all good mindes, that We were carefull to direct Our counsels, & dispose Our actions, as might most conduce to the maintenance of Religion, honour of Our gouernement, & safetie of Our people. But with mischieuous men, once ill affected, *Seu benè, seu malè facta premunt:* and whatsoeuer once seemed amisse, is euer remembred; but good endeauours are neuer regarded.

Now all these things, that were the chiefe complaints the last Session, being by Our Princely care so seriously reformed, the Parliament reassembled the twentieth of *Ianuary* last Wee expecting, according to the candor & sinceritie of Our owne thoughts, that men would haue framed themselues for the effecting a right vnderstanding betweene Vs & Our people. But some few maleuolent persons, like Emperickes & lewd Artists, did striue to make new worke, & to haue some disease on foote to keepe themselues in request, & to be imployed & entertayned in the cure. And yet, to manifest how much offences haue beene diminished, The Committes for greiuances, Committees for Courts of Iustice, & Committes for Trade haue, since the sitting downe of the Parliament, receiued few complaints; & those such, as they themselues haue not thought to be of that moment or importance, with which Our eares should be acquainted.

No sooner therefore was the Parliament set downe, but these ill affected men began to sowe & disperse their iealousies, by casting out some glances & doubtfull speeches, as if the Subiect had not been so cleerely & well dealt with touching their liberties, & touching the Petition answered the last Parliament. This being a plausible Theame, thought on for an ill purpose, easily tooke hold on the mindes of many, that knew not the practise: And thereupon the second day of the Parliament, a Committee was appointed to search, whether the Petition & Our Answere thereunto were enrolled in the Parliament Rolle, and in the Courts at *Westminster*; & in what manner the same was done. And a day was then also appointed, on which, the House being resolued into a Committee, should take into consideration those things wherein the liberty of the Subiect had beene inuaded against that Petition. This, though it produced no other effect of moment or importance; yet was sufficient to raise a iealousie against our proceedings, in such as were not well acquainted with the fincerity & cleereneſſe of them. There followed another of no lesse skill; for although our proceeding, before the Parliament, about matters of Religion, might haue satisfied any moderate men of our zealous care thereof (as Wee are sure it did the most) yet, as bad stomackes turne the best things into their owne nature, for want of good digestion; so those distempered persons haue done the like of Our good intents, by a bad and sinister interpretation. For, when they did obserue,

ſerue, that many honeſt & religious mindes in that Houſe, did complaine of thoſe dangers that did threaten the Church; they likewiſe tooke the ſame word in their mouth, & their crie likewiſe was *Templum Domini, Templum Domini*, when the true care of the Church neuer came into their hearts and what the one did out of zeale vnto Roligion, the other tooke vp as a plauble theame to depraue Our gouernement; as if Wee, our Clergie, & Counſell, were eyther ſenſeleſſe, or careleſſe of Religion. And this wicked practiſe hath beene to make Vs ſeeme to walke before Our people, as if Wee halted before God. Hauing by theſe Artifices, made a iealous impreſsion in the hearts of many, & a day being appointed to treate of the grant of Tonnage & Poundage, at the time prefixed, all expreſſe great willingneſſe to grant it: but a new ſtraine is found out, that it could not be done, without great perill to the right of the Subiect, vnleſſe Wee ſhould diſclayme any right therein, but by grant in Parliament; & ſhould cauſe all thoſe goods to be reſtored, which, vpon commandement from Vs or Our Counſell were ſtayed by Our Officers, vntill thoſe duties were payed, & conſequently ſhould put our ſelfe out of poſſeſsion of the Tonnage & Poundage, before they were granted; for elſe, it was pretended the Subiect ſtood not in fit caſe to graut it. A fancie & cauill rayſed of purpoſe, to trouble the buſineſſe; it being euident, that all the Kings before named did receiue that duty, & were in actuall poſſeſsion of it, before, & at the very time, when it was granted to them by Parliament. And although Wee, to remoue all difficulties, did from Our owne mouth, in thoſe cleere & open termes that might haue ſatisfied any moderate & well diſpoſed mindes, declare, that it was Our meaning, by the gift of Our people to enioy it, & that Wee did not challenge it of right, but tooke it *de bene eſſe*; ſhewing thereby, not the right, but the neceſsity by which Wee were to take it; wherein Wee deſcended, for their ſatisfaction, ſo farre beneath Our ſelfe, as Wee are confident neuer any of Our Predeceſſors did the like; nor was the like neuer required or expected from them: Yet, for all this, the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was layd aſide, vpon pretence they muſt firſt cleere the right of the Subiect therein; vnder colour whereof they entertayne the complaints, not onely of *Iohn Rolles*, a member of their Houſe, but alſo of *Richard Chambers*, *Iohn Fowkes*, & *Bartholomew Gilman*, againſt the Officers of Our Cuſtomes, for detayning their goods, vpon refuſall to pay the ordinary duties accuſtomed to be payed for the ſame. And, vpon theſe complaints, they ſend for the Officers of the Cuſtomes; enforcing them to attend day after day, by the ſpace of a Moneth together; they cauſe them to produce their Letters Patents vnder the Our great Seale, & the Warrants made by Our Priuy

Counſell for leuying of thoſe duties they examine the Officers vpon what queſtions they pleaſe, thereby to entrap them for doing our ſeruice & commaundement. In theſe & other their proceedings, becauſe Wee would not giue the leaſt ſhew of interruption, Wee endured long with much patience, both theſe & ſundry other ſtrange & exorbitant incroachments & vſurpations, ſuch as were neuer before attempted in that Houſe.

We are not ignorant, how much that Houſe hath of late yeares endeauoured to extend their Priuiledges, by ſetting vp generall Committees for Religion, for Courts of Iuſtice, for Trade, & the like: a courſe neuer heard of vntill of late; ſo as, where in former times the Knights, & Burgeſſes were wont to communicate to that Houſe ſuch buſineſſe as they brought from their Countries, now there are ſo many Chaires erected to make enquiry vpon all ſorts of men, where complaints of all ſorts are entertayned, to the vnſufferable diſturbance & ſcandall of Iuſtice & gouernment; which hauing beene tolerated a while, by Our Father, & Our Selfe, hath daily growne to more & more height, inſomuch as young Lawyers ſitting there, take on them to decree the opinions of Iudges, & ſome haue not doubted to maintayne, that the reſolutions of that Houſe muſt binde the Iudges; a thing neuer heard of in ages paſt But in this laſt aſſembly of Parliament they haue taken on them much more then euer before.

They ſent Meſſengers to examine Our Atturney generall, who is an Officer of truſt & ſecrecie, touching the execution of ſome Commandements of Ours; of which, without Our leaue firſt obtayned, he was not to giue account to any but to Our Selfe: They ſent a captious & directory meſſage to the Lord Treaſurer, Chancellour, & Barons of the Exchequer, touching ſome iudiciall proceedings of theirs in Our Court of Exchequer.

They ſent meſſengers to examine vpon ſundry queſtions, Our two chiefe Iuſtices, & three other of Our Iudges, touching their iudiciall proceedings at the Goale-Deliuery at *New gate*; of which they are not accountable to the Houſe of Commons. And whereas ſuits were commenced in Our Court of *Star-Chamber*, againſt *Richard Chambers*, *Iohn Fowkes*, *Bartholomew Gilman*, & *Richard Philips*, by Our Atturney generall, for great miſdemeanours, they reſolued that they were to haue Priuiledge of Parliament, againſt Vs, for their perſons; for no other cauſe, but becauſe they had Petitions depending in that Houſe & (which is more ſtrange) they reſolued that a Signification ſhould be made from that Houſe, by a Letter to iſſue vnder the hand of their ſpeaker vnto the Lord Keeper of Our great Seale, that no Attachment ſhould be granted out againſt the ſaid *Chambers*, *Fowkes*, *Gilman*, or *Philips*, during their ſaid priuiledge of Parliament; Whereas, it is farre aboue

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the power of that Houſe, to giue direction to any of Our Courts at *Weſtminſter*, to ſtop Attachments againſt any man, though neuer ſo ſtrongly priuiledged: the breach of priuiledge being not in the Court that grants, but in the party or Miniſter that puts in execution ſuch Attachments. And therfore, if any ſuch Letter had come to the Lord Keeper, as it did not, he ſhould haue highly offended Vs, if he had obeyed it. Nay, they went ſo farre, as they ſpared not the honour of our counſelboard, but examined their proceedings in the caſe of Our Cuſtomers, interrogating what [this or that man of Our Counſell ſaid, in direction of the in the buſineſſe committed to their charge. And when one of the members of that Houſe, ſpeaking of Our Counſellers, ſaid, We had wicked Counſaile, & another ſaid, That the counſaile & Iudges ſought to trample vnder feete the liberty of the Subiect. & a third traduced our high Court of *Star-Chamber*, for the Sentence giuen againſt *Sauage*: they paſſed without checke or cenſure by the Houſe. By which may appeare, how farre the members of that Houſe haue of late ſwollen beyond the rules of moderation & the modeſtie of former times; And this, vnder pretence of priuiledge & freedome of ſpeech, whereby they take libertie to declare againſt all authoritie of Counſaile and Courts at their pleaſure.

They ſent for our Sheriffe of *London*, to examine him in a cauſe whereof they had no iuriſdiction, their true & ancient iuriſdiction extending onely to their owne members, & to the conſeruation of their priuiledges, & not to the cenſure of forreigne perſons & cauſes, which haue no relation to their priuiledges; the ſame being but a late innouation. And yet, vpon an enforced ſtraine of a contempt, for not anſwering to their ſatisfaction, they committed him to the Towre of *London*, vſing that outward pretext for a cauſe of their committing him; the true & inward cauſe being, for that hee had ſhewed himſelfe dutifull to Vs & Our Commandements, in the matter concerning Our Cuſtomes. In theſe Innouations (which Wee will neuer permit againe) they pretended indeede, our ſeruice; but their drift was to breake, by this meanes, through all reſpects & ligaments of Gouernement, & to erect an vniuerſall ouerſwaying power to themſelues, which belongs onely to Vs, and not to them.

Laſtly, in their proceedings againſt our Cuſtomers, they went about to cenſure them as delinquents & to puniſh them for ſtaying ſome goods of ſome factious Marchants, in Our Stor-houſe, for not paying thoſe duties which themſelues had formerly payed, & which the Cuſtomers, without interruption, had receiued of all other Marchants many yeares before, and to which they were authorized both by Our great Seale & by ſeuerall directions and Commandements from Vs and Our Priuie Counſell.

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To giue ſome colour to their proceedings herein, they went about to create a new priuiledge, which We will neuer admitte; that a Parliament man hath priuiledge for his goods againſt the King: the conſequence whereof would be that he may not be conſtrained to pay any duties to the King, during the time of priuiledge of Parliament.

It is true they would haue made this caſe to haue beene between the Merchant & Our Farmors of our Cuſtome; & haue ſeuered them from Our intereſt & commandement, thereby the rather to make thē liable to the cenſure & puniſhment of that Houſe. But on the other ſide We, holding it both vniuſt & diſhonourable, to withdraw Our ſelfe from Our Officers, in any thing they did by Our commandement, or to diſavow any thing that Wee had enioyned to be done, vpon Munday, the three & twentieth day of February, ſent a meſſage vnto them by Secretary *Coke*, thanking them for the reſpect they had ſhewed in ſeuering the intereſt of Our Farmors from Our owne intereſt & Commandement: Neuerthe eſſe Wee were bound in Honour to acknowledge a trueth, that what was done by them, was done by Our expreſſe direction & commandement, & if for doing thereof Our Farmors ſhould ſuffer, it would highly concerne Vs in Honour. Which meſſage was no ſooner deliuered vnto them, but, in a tumultuous & diſcontented manner they called, *Adiourne, Adiourne*, & thereupon without any cauſe giuen on Our part in a very vnuſuall manner, Adiourned themſelues vntill the Wedneſday following on which day, by the vniforme aduice of Our Priuy Counſaile, Wee cauſed both Houſes to be adiourned vntill the ſecond day of March; hoping that in the meane time a better & more right vnderſtanding might be begotten betweene Vs & the members of that Houſe, whereby the Parliament might come to a happy iſſue.

But vnderſtanding by good aduertiſement, that their diſcontent did not in that time digeſt & paſſe away. Wee reſolued to make a ſecond adiournement vntill the tenth of March, which was done aſwell to take time to Our ſelfe to thinke of ſome meanes to accommodate thoſe difficulties, as to giue them time to aduiſe better, & accordingly We gaue commandement for a ſecond Adiournement in both Houſes, & for ceſſation of all buſineſſe till the day appointed: which was very dutifully obeyed in the higher Houſe, no man contradicting or queſtioning it. But when the ſame commandement was deliuered in the Houſe of Commons by their Speaker, it was ſtraightwayes contradicted; & although the Speaker declared vnto them, it was an abſolute right & power in Vs, to adiourne, aſwell as to Prorogue or diſſolue, & declared & read vnto them diuers Preſidents of that Houſe to warrant the ſame, yet Our commandement was moſt contemptuouſly diſobeyed; &

ſome riſing vp to ſpeake, ſaying they had buſineſſe to doe before the Houſe ſhould be adiourned, the Speaker againe declared Our expreſſe & peremptory command to adiourne, & that himſelfe ſhould preſently leaue the Houſe, & come vnto Vs; which he offered to doe, but was withſtood by two that had of purpoſe placed themſelues, one on eyther ſide of the Speakers Chayre, & by force held him in for a time: yet the Speaker finding meanes to get out of the Chayre, & purpoſing to come to vs, as we had commanded, thoſe two, & diuers others caught hold of him, & by ſtrong hand brought him backe, & ſet him in the Chayre againſt his will, & then a member of that Houſe caſt out a moſt ſeditious paper, framed by himſelfe & his Adherents, without any warrant from the Houſe, & containing a proſcription of ſuch as in duty & obedience to Vs, ſhould aduiſe or aſſiſt Vs in the receipt of Tonnage & Poundage, or ſhould pay that duty, as enemies to the State, and required it to be read: a moſt audacious inſolencie for any to preſume to doe that of their owne heads, which, if the whole Houſe had done in that manner, had beene aboue their power, & had deſerued the higheſt cenſure: but the Speaker refuſing to reade it, the Author of it tooke on him moſt ſeditiouſly & factiouſly, to declare the cõtents of it, & he & other his adherents quired it ſhould be put to the queſtion; which being miſliked by many graue & wiſe men in the Houſe, & refuſed by the Speaker (as Wee doubt not, but all good men will beleeue he had cauſe, & euen abhorre the memory of that inſolent & ſeditious Act) yet many bitter taunts, and iniectiues were vttered againſt the Speaker by thoſe factious perſons, & the doores being faſt locked ſuch as were well affected to Our ſeruice, were againſt their wils, kept in the Houſe all the time of this tumult & diſorder & when ſome aduertiſement came to Vs, that the Houſe was in great diſtemper, Wee firſt ſent for the Sergeant of the Houſe, whom they, after they knew Our pleaſure therein, preſumptuouſly detayned. And after Wee ſent a meſſage vnto them by the Gentleman-vſher of the higher Houſe, but he comming to the doore, and declaring that he had a meſſage from Vs, was refuſed to be admitted; and, being kept at the doore a long time, at laſt the Houſe adiourned themſelues without receiuing Our meſſage; a proceeding ſo irregular, as no Parliament can parallel; when our abſolute Commands, warranted by Law and Preſidents of former times, were diſobeyed, the Speaker violated, Our Meſſenger and meſſage excluded, which ought to haue beene admitted, if they were a Houſe; and if they were not a Houſe, they ought not at all to haue diſputed, much leſſe to blaſt the honour of Our Seruants, to proſcribe Our beſt Subiects, and giue Law to Soueraignety, ſtriking at the very eſſence of Monarchy. By all which it appeares, that there wanted not men in that

Houſe, that would get themſelues a name, by ſetting *Dianas* Temple on fire, and make themſelues popular, by putting all the Kingdome in combuſtion: For what other end could there be in that malicious ſpeech, whereby a wicked *Shimei* at that time would make Vs odious in the eyes of all our people, as if it were meant to transferre all Trade and giue the fatneſſe of the Land to ſtrangers? A conceite (Wee call God to witneſſe) which neuer entred into Our Soule, and, Wee thinke, neuer harboured in any heart but that ſeditious heart which firſt broached it. For, God forbid, Wee ſhould loue any ends ſo well, or by any neceſſitie to be driuen to forget that indiſſoluble bond betweene Vs and Our people. Wee could and would haue expected longer, had We conceiued any hope of returning to their duty. Whileſt the *Duke* of *Buckingham* liued, He was intituled to all the diſtempers and ill euents of former Parliaments; and therefore much endeauour was vſed to demoliſh him, as the onely wall of ſeparation betweene Vs and Our people. But now he is dead, no alteration was found amongſt thoſe enuenomed ſpirits, which troubled then the bleſſed harmony betweene Vs and our Subiects, and continue ſtill to trouble it. For now, vnder the pretence of publike care of the Common-wealth, they ſuggeſt new & cauſeleſſe feares, which, in their owne hearts, they know to be falſe: and deuiſe new engins of miſchiefe, ſo to caſt a blindneſſe vpon the good affections of our people, that they may not ſee the truth and largeneſſe of our heart towards them: ſo that, now it is manifeſt the *Duke* was not alone the marke that thoſe men ſhot at, but was only, as a meere miniſter of ours, taken vp on the by, and in their paſſage to their more ſecret deſignes; which onely were to caſt our affaires into a deſperate condition, to abate the powers of Our Crowne, and to bring our gouernement into obloquy: that, in the end, all things may be ouerwhelmed with anarchy and confuſion. Wee doe not impute theſe diſaſters to the whole Houſe of Commons, knowing that there were amongſt them many religious, graue, and well minded men: but, the ſincerer and better part of the Houſe being ouer-borne by the practiſes and clamours of the other, who, careleſſe of their duties, and taking aduantage of the times and our neceſſities, haute forced Vs to breake off this meeting, which had it beene anſwered with like dutie on their parts, as it was inuited and begun with loue on Ours, might haue proued happy and glorious, both to Vs and this whole Nation.

Wee haue thus declared the manifold cauſes Wee had to diſſolue this Parliament; whereby all the world may ſee how much they haue forgotten their former ingagements, at the entry into the warre, themſelues being perſwaders to it, promiſing to make Vs feared by Our enemies, and eſteemed by

by our friends and how they turned the neceſsities growne by that warre, to enforce Vs to yeeld conditions incompetible with Monarchy. And now, that Our people may diſcerne, that theſe prouocations of euill men (whoſe puniſhment We reſerue to a due time) haue not changed Our good intentions to Our Subiects: Wee doe here proteſte to maintaine the true Religion and doctrine eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, without admitting or conniuing at any backſliding eyther to Popery or ſchiſme. Wee doe alſo declare, that Wee will maintaine the ancient and iuſt Rights, and liberties of Our Subiects, with ſo much conſtancie and iuſtice, that they ſhall haue cauſe to acknowledge, that vnder Our gouernement and gracious protection, they liue in a more happy and free eſtate, then any Subiects in the Chriſtian world. Yet let no man hereby take the boldneſſe to abuſe that libertie, turning it into licentiouſneſſe, nor miſinterprete the Petition, by peruerting it to a lawleſſe libertie, wantonly or frowardly, vnder that or any other colour, to reſiſt lawfull and neceſſary authoritie. For, as Wee will maintaine Our Subiects in their iuſt liberties, ſo Wee doe and will expect that they yeeld as much ſubmiſsion and dutie to Our Royall Prerogatiues, and as ready obedience to Our authoritie and commandements, as hath beene performed to the greateſt of Our Predeceſſors.

And, for Our Miniſters, Wee will not that they be terrified by thoſe harſh proceedings, that haue beene ſtrained againſt ſome of them. For, as Wee will not Command any thing vniuſt, or diſhonourable, but ſhall vſe Our Authoritie and Prerogatiues for the good of Our people; ſo Wee will expect that Our Miniſters obey Vs, and they ſhall aſſure themſelues Wee will protect them.

As for Our Merchants, Wee let them know, Wee ſhall alwayes endeavour to cheriſh and enlarge the trade of ſuch as be dutifull, without burthening them beyond that which is fitting: but the dutie of ſhip-mony in the hundred for guarding the Seas, and defence of the Realme (to which Wee hold Our ſelues ſtill obliged, and which dutie hath continued without interruption ſo many ſucceſsions of ages,) Wee hold, no dutifull or good Subiect will denie it, being ſo neceſſary, for the good of the whole Kingdome. And if any factious Marchant will affront Vs in a thing ſo reaſonable, and wherein Wee require no more, nor in no other manner then ſo many of Our Predeceſſors haue done, and haue beene dutifully obeyed: let them not deceiue themſelues, but be aſſured, that Wee ſhall finde Honourable and iuſt meanes to ſupport Our eſtate, vindicate Our Soueraignetie, and preſerue that Authoritie, which God hath put into Our hands.

And now, hauing layd downe the truth and cleereneſſe of Our proceedings,

dings, all wise and discreete men may easily iudge of those rumours and iealous feares, that are maliciously and wickedly bruited abroad; and may discerne by examination of their owne hearts, whether, in respect of the free passage of the Gospell, indifferent and equall administration of Iustice, freedome from oppression, and the great peace and quietnesse which euery man enioyeth vnder his owne Vine and Figtree, the happinesse of this Nation can be paralleled by any other of Our neighbour Countreyes; and if not, then to acknowledge their owne blessednesse, and for the same be thankefull to God, the Author of all goodnesse.

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